1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

also use appropriate kinship reference terminology for each other.)

Hsin Hsing also has a number of very small family groupings; some are composed of several recently divided families and several are unrelated family units. Most of these have been unable to expand significantly and so have little effective organization or influence in village affairs. Some of these try to ally with a *tsu* organization whenever possible. This is especially true if they happen to bear the same surname as a village *tsu* but do not trace a common ancestor with it; under such circumstances they may even attempt to identify with and participate in some of the *tsu's* secular activities.

The latter means of attempting to relate to others forms the basis for still another kind of relationship found in Taiwan as well as on much of mainland China—a relationship formed by people who bear the same surname and with whom an original ancestor, often mythical, can be assumed but not actually demonstrated. In the Hsin Hsing area the relationships between such people do not carry any specific kinship terminology, except in so far as one might use a fictive kinship term to address another person who is older or of higher status. (But this would be strictly out of courtesy, and such kinship courtesy terms can be and often are used to show respect for any older villager.) All the people who bear the same surname but are not members of the same *tsu* are, however, lumped together under the heading *ch'in t'ang* (meaning relatives of the ancestral hall). All of these people therefore can be said to comprise what can be considered the largest exogamous unilateral group, which gives all of them at least the potential basis for the formation of a clan organization.

Still another kind of grouping of relatives are matrilateral, affinal relatives, or other people who recognize a relationship as a result of the adoption of a girl between their families. All of these people refer to each other as *ch'in ch'i*, literally meaning "relatives." Matrilateral and affinal relatives also have kinship terminology applied to them, but such words are always prefixed by a term indicating that the relationship is through a mother or wife and thus applied to an outside relative. However, the use of kinship terms for these relatives, especially for affinal female descendants, is not extended either vertically or horizontally as far as it is with patrilineal relatives. Therefore, neither mother's sister's children nor wife's sister's children have kinship terms applied to them; they are simply *ch'in ch'i*.

Of all the Hsin Hsing families, most of which are the conjugal type, about 81 percent bear one of four surnames—Huang, Shih, K'ang, or Shen—which in one way or another make up the several significant village *tsu*. The other 19 percent carry eight other surnames. Generally speaking, all family groupings which have the same surname and trace some degree of kinship through a common ancestor tend to live close

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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While the girl spends most of the evening in the kitchen or back rooms of the house with her female relatives, the boy and his companions are formally entertained by the bride's father and other male relatives at the banquet. Most of the banquet guests are *ch'in ch'i* and friends of the girl's family, and the men who serve the food and entertain the guests are *ch'in tsu*, close friends, and neighbors.

Before many hours have passed the bride, the groom, and his companions take leave of their hosts. Since this is their first formal visit, it is important "to eat little and leave early" to show their politeness, although the party continues after they have left.

The guests who are formally invited to this banquet and to the wedding festival in the groom's home are those who have sent a gift. The form of the gift usually depends upon the relationship the guest has with the family. Close *ch'in tsu* or *ch'in ch'i* commonly send lengths of cloth with several hundred NT dollars and messages of good wishes pasted on them which are displayed on the walls. Other guests may simply send money wrapped in a red paper packet. Regardless of the kind of gift or who it comes from, the receiving family informally records the name of the donor and the amount of the gift. This is done so that later, on a similar occasion, an approximately equivalent gift can be returned.

On the third day after the wedding the new daughter-in-law begins to work in her husband's house. From the outset she is carefully supervised by her mother-in-law and usually does much of the cooking, washing, and general housecleaning. "If the daughter-in-law is good, she will listen to and obey all the family, including her sisters-in-law and even her husband's younger sisters." This is the best way for her to demonstrate that she is anxious to learn the ways of her new home and please her new family.

A girl's parents cannot visit their daughter in her new home for the first four months after she is married. While the girl can pay them brief visits during this period, such visits are dependent upon the economic condition of her husband's family and the number of people who can perform the necessary household tasks in her place. If she were to leave her household duties undone she could easily anger her mother-in-law. To avoid such a contingency, many newly married girls rarely see their parents during the early months of marriage. However, if a girl marries within her home village, she may easily be tempted to visit her parents frequently, and perhaps even to continue to do some of her old tasks for her mother—all at the expense of the work she now owes her husband's family. Such a situation can provoke the mother-in-law to treat the girl harshly and may eventually lead to bad feeling between the two families, since they live in close proximity and therefore know everything that goes on in the other's house.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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the ancestors are all considered both important and fundamental to correct behavior. Aptly expressing a rather general feeling, one villager said, "Everyone knows it's natural to act this way. What other way is there to act?"

The development of this attitude is promoted chiefly by examples in everyday life which are a part of a child's general upbringing. Children are frequently told stories which emphasize the rewards of filial and virtuous behavior. The scrolls displayed and the stories told by the *tao shih* during funerals (see Chapter 7) contribute greatly to the indoctrination. In addition, the use of formal kinship terminology constantly reminds children of the importance of proper behavior towards their superiors or elders. Terms of respect (utilizing kinship terminology) which take into account the relative age and generation of all relatives and even friends and neighbors are learned early and indicate the way one person is expected to act toward another.

Children and adults are also constantly reminded of the "moral way" by door hangings whose elaborate calligraphy exhorts them to proper behavior as well as wishing them good fortune. While most villagers cannot actually read the characters, they know what they mean. These scrolls are usually purchased in Lukang; nowadays many of them bear anti-Communist, nationalistic slogans which mean little to most of the villagers who buy them.

The schools consistently emphasize many of the basic traditional moral values. Textbooks present stories about acts of filial piety or respect for elders and those in authority and emphasize the value of reasonableness, compromise, and cooperation, and, of course, patriotism and even extreme nationalism. In addition, special topics or themes are stressed during certain weeks. For example, the schools observe "filial piety week," during which they stress obedience and respect for age, teachers, and parents. Other weeks are devoted to the importance of love and charity, respect for country, and the national flag. Thus, we find the moral and ethical teachings of Confucianism constantly reaffirmed in everyday life.

Ancestor Worship

Ancestor worship, which is closely related to Confucianism and the mystique of filial piety, and whose rituals actually reinforce it, is a form of religious belief to which virtually all Hsin Hsing area villagers adhere. The believers are not, however, in agreement about the effect ancestors have on the lives of their descendants. Many in Hsin Hsing do not agree that ancestors provide positive aid to their descendants, but few would deny the misfortunes that are sure to fall if neglected ancestors vengefully fail to protect their unfilial descendants from the many negative spirits.

Since ancestral spirits live in the other world much as they did in

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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APPENDIX 2

Kinship Terminology for Cousins in Hsin Hsing

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In the accompanying lists of kinship terminology for first cousins used in the Hsin Hsing area, it can be seen that the terms of reference for all first cousins have three Chinese characters. The character in the third position is in actuality a sibling term and is used for all types of cousins as well as for siblings; it varies only on the basis of sex and age. For example, *hsiung*, older brother (under kinship chart and list numbers 9, 14, 38) or *mei*, younger sister (under chart and list numbers 13, 17, 44) would be used in this position. These characters, however, are not very important in distinguishing relationships since they are also used rather indiscriminately by the villagers (and Chinese generally) as courtesy terms for many people with whom no kinship relationship exists. However, the other two terms or characters are significant, since they do indicate important distinctions beyond that of sex and age, between the four types of first cousins.

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The most significant distinction between types of first cousins is that of bifurcation between patrilateral parallel cousins (father's brother's children) and the other three types of first cousins: patrilateral cross-cousins, matrilateral cross-cousins, and matrilateral parallel cousins. This distinction is indicated in the kinship terminology by the first two characters used. *Only* patrilateral parallel cousins have as their first two characters *shu pe* (meaning paternal uncle and noted under kinship chart and list numbers 18 and 21).

The other three types of cousins are designated by two different characters which sharply distinguish them from patrilateral parallel cousins. The second of these two different characters is always "*piao*" (loosely translated as "outside" relatives and found under kinship chart and list numbers 14, 17, 41, 44, 45, 47, and so on). This term is applied to descendants of female relatives on the father's side and to descendants of mother's brothers as well as mother's sisters.

In the latter three types of cousins (all of which have the middle character "*piao*"), we again find bifurcation indicated. This time, according to informants, it is the first character which distinguishes patrilateral and matrilateral cross-cousins from matrilateral parallel-cousins, at least in the Hsin Hsing area and also generally in the west-central coastal area of Taiwan. The first character for both types of cross-cousins is "*ku*" (meaning girl or paternal aunt and found under kinship chart and list numbers 14, 17, 45, 47, and so on). Only the matrilateral parallel cousins (mother's sister's children) have

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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PREFACE

Because my husband is an anthropologist who specializes in Chinese studies, I came in 1959 to live in a small country village in Northern Taiwan. For the next two years, home was a Chinese farm house shared with the large family of Lim. Why the Lims of Peihotien agreed to take us into their family is unclear. Our rent was certainly higher than any Taiwanese would pay, but the risk of renting to us was far greater. Many of the people in Peihotien had never seen an American before and most had never spoken to one. Our landlord, Lim Chieng-cua, evidently decided that our odd pale eyes, large noses, and unhealthy white skin did not necessarily mean we were any more unpredictable than a Taiwanese stranger. Lim Chieng-cua may have owed a social debt to the schoolmaster who introduced us to him, or he may have hoped to gain some advantage from America by sheltering its students. Perhaps he simply wished to indulge his curiosity, or perhaps he hoped that our presence in his house might in some way ease the strains that were developing within his family.

It was not until we had spent many months in the house of Lim that we began to appreciate the magnitude of our good fortune. For two generations this branch of the Lim family had held the unofficial but effective leadership of Peihotien—respected and, in some cases, feared by their fellow villagers. As guests in their home, we found we had little to fear from opportunists or thieves, for none would risk angering our mentors. We also found, however, that we had rented a certain responsibility towards the good name of the family. If we bargained so carelessly as to allow ourselves to be cheated of a few dollars, we had to a certain extent allowed the Lims to be cheated. When the village carpenter overcharged us, Lim Chieng-cua felt it necessary to retaliate with a subtle, but public, social insult. On another occasion, Lim Chieng-cua explained to us that for the sake of our good name we should eat at least one course at every village banquet to which we were invited—even if this meant attending a dozen or more banquets in a single evening. He later told our assistant that we must be urged to do this for the sake of the Lims' good name.

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chapter 8

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TAN A-HONG: AN ADOPTED DAUGHTER

Except on the coldest days and for a few hours each night, the doors of the houses in Peihotien are never closed. A closed door in the daytime would arouse concern or suspicion and would surely bring a group of neighbors to inquire as to what the trouble might be. Few strangers come to Peihotien and when they do, they nearly always send one of the swarming children to run ahead and announce to Mr. Lim or Mr. Ong that he has a visitor. A neighbor looking for Mr. Lim or Mr. Ong simply walks into the house calling his name, and if Mr. Lim or Mr. Ong does not answer, he walks on out again. An intimate friend or relative walks into the house even more casually, wandering through the passageways until he finds someone, courteously coughing before pushing aside the curtains of a bedroom door in his search. Until I became familiar with the faces of the intimates of the Lim family and with the villagers who dropped in there frequently, I had the uncomfortable sensation that the narrow passageways of our house were thoroughfares at least as public as the lanes outside. The situation was even more confusing to me as a newcomer because the number of people actually living in the house varied from week to week. During the harvest season, gangs of workmen came up from the south to cut the rice and stayed in the house for the three or four days it took to harvest the Lim fields. When Lim A-bok strained his back, a young relative lived in the house and helped with the field work. At least twice an old woman distantly related through Lim Han-ci's wife stayed in the house for several weeks while the Lims tried to patch up

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Interpersonal Relations and "Face"

626 571 558 [262] There is seldom a "face to face" confrontation where someone directly informs another he has done wrong or is a bad man. Instead, there is considerable gossip so that a criticism soon trickles back to the accused. A villager took a turtle-dough cake home from a religious festival and incurred an obligation to return a larger cake the next year which he failed to accomplish. The temple committee members told many people about the failure but would not confront the transgressor in person. The committee posted two lists on the temple bulletin board, one specifying those who had taken home turtle-dough cakes and the other, those who had returned cakes the next year. Although a cursory comparison of the two lists would quickly reveal any violators, the committee claimed they just could not post a list which separately listed those who had refused to return turtle-dough cakes. This concept of "face" with a requirement for both avoiding giving offense and helping others to avoid giving offense does minimize the occurrence of conflict by discouraging the open expression of differences or criticisms.

558 571 576 "Face" does seriously hamper interpersonal relations on another level in spite of its employment in promoting harmony. It is necessary that one does not give offense and it is equally necessary that one helps

558 to prevent another from giving offense. Because a flat
576 no to someone by definition necessarily gives offense.
571 there are special problems in asking for a job, hiring a laborer, or extending a dinner invitation for it is necessary to do considerable hinting before a direct question is asked. When an invitation to dinner is extended formally, both parties are clearly aware that the invitation is coming and the answer will be yes. If the clues were misinterpreted, one accepts the invitation and then just does not show up. Not to show up after accepting is an insult but is not on a face-to-face basis and therefore, is not as serious. No excuse will be given later and the host will never mention it. Many dinner invitations are not extended until a few minutes before dinner. According to Chen Shao-hsing, the Chinese "yes" often has two meanings, one an affirmation, the other a polite refusal (1963:58). The closest analogy in American culture is the hiring process described by Caplow and McGee (1962) for some university positions, particularly those of higher ranks. The professor indicates he may be available while the university indicates it may have an opening. After considerable discussion, an offer may be made. However, a firm clear offer is rarely tendered without an understanding it will be accepted.

121 In Riesman's terms (1950), the "tradition directed"
558 social character is predominant for Sanlei with the
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121 community as the main agency of socialization and shame,
558 the psychological mechanism promoting conformity. This
571 is explored more fully in the chapter on the life cycle,
• 576 but elements are important for this discussion. Tradition
626 is important. Some people, particularly older ones, are considered to have such expertise with regard to cultural norms that acceptance of their authoritative interpretation of norms is frequent and natural. For example, a recently married woman wanted to go see her sister's new baby but knew there was some avoidance rule involving brides and babies. After learning from an older woman that a bride brought misfortune to a baby less than 30 days old, she willingly accepted the ruling and did not even seem disappointed. In many cases, there is this quite willing acceptance of custom for its own sake.

[562] In summary, it appears that women are not significant on an overt level for social control in the contexts discussed in this chapter. They do not really participate in formal rule, politics, or most political units. Their effects are more covert. They influence men and are extremely significant in the socialization process which builds into individuals the internal mechanisms of social control.